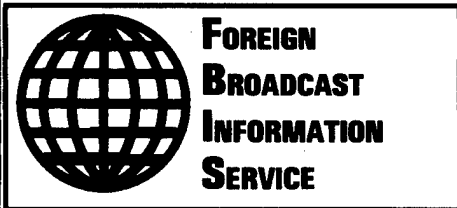


JPRS-ATC-90-011  
26 OCTOBER 1990



# ***JPRS Report***

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## **East Asia**

***Southeast Asia***  
***Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN***  
***No 5, May 1990***

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# East Asia

## Southeast Asia

### Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN

#### No 5, May 1990

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26 OCTOBER 1990

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**The Close Relationship Between the Party and the People—The Decisive Factor in the Victory of the Revolution**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
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**Ho Chi Minh—Revolutionary Theory and Action**

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**Ho Chi Minh—An Outstanding Diplomat**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 5, May 90 pp 24-28

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**Exploit the Nature of Uncle Ho's Soldiers in the New Revolutionary Stage**

902E0265A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 5, May 90 pp 29-34

[Article by Lieutenant General Le Xuan Luu]

[Text] The phrases "Uncle Ho's Army" and "Uncle Ho's soldiers" are popular phrases used by the people in referring lovingly to our army and soldiers. These popular phrases are used by men and women throughout the country, both young and old alike, and they have been in existence for as long as the Vietnam People's Army.

Looking back at the history of our country, it can be said that the greatest achievement of the party in building revolutionary armed forces was the establishment of "Uncle Ho's Army," an army imbued with the ideals and personality of President Ho Chi Minh. Thus, it won victory and made history.

Entering the new revolutionary stage, our party and state gave attention to exploiting the wonderful nature of "Uncle Ho's Army." Thus, facing great challenges in past years, our army showed its political stability and fulfilled the tasks assigned it.

However, it must be said that in the face of the great social changes and the economic difficulties in life, many negative phenomena have appeared in the army, and its

traditions have declined. The army has made a great effort to overcome the difficulties, but it has failed to achieve the desired results. Political quality does not meet the requirements of army building in the new situation.

Thus, renovating the contents and measures to manifest the nature of "Uncle Ho's Army" is a pressing objective requirement.

Manifesting the nature of "Uncle Ho's Army" in the new situation is a major problem that will require diligent and serious study. Here, I will give only a few thoughts on exploiting this based on the requirements of the situation and the new tasks, overcoming the lack of concern about the lives of the people, the loss of democracy and the lack of discipline, solidifying the "fish and water" relationship between the military and the people, and renovating human development in the army.

1. Building the political quality of the army in accord with the requirements of the new situation and tasks:

To talk about "Uncle Ho's army" is to talk about the nature of the army and the political quality of the army. Political quality is the foundation of military quality and the quality of soldiers. The political quality of the military is an integrated concept of many aspects. The contents of this quality change and develop together with the changes and developments in the situation and tasks of each historical period and each revolutionary stage.

We are building an army in a very complex historical situation. The socialist countries are trying to reform and renovate things. In particular, they are trying to renovate thinking with the aim of eliminating those things that are not part of socialism so that the country can advance. These efforts have brought new understanding in accord with objective laws and the nature of socialism. But many deviant tendencies harmful to socialism have arisen, and some have even abandoned socialism.

The imperialists, at the head of which are the American imperialists, have used these deviant tendencies, along with the difficulties and loopholes of reform and renovation in the socialist countries, to attack socialism. They have used very destructive economic, technical, political, ideological, and psychological measures to carry on "peaceful change." They have concentrated on the following main targets: to end the leading role of the communist party; carry on political liberalization and implement political pluralism; invalidate the armed forces and security forces; privatize assets and resources; and free the markets. They have used the forces present in the socialist countries. They have encouraged the blind actions of elements that are not fully conscious in order to destroy socialism.

Because of the new plots and stratagems of the enemy, the army's tasks are different than in the past. Defending the fatherland must go hand in hand with defending socialism. To defend the fatherland is to defend the independence, sovereignty, and territorial boundaries of

the fatherland, including its land, air, and sea borders and continental shelf. To defend socialism is to defend Marxism-Leninism, the socialist revolutionary path, the party and the leadership of the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialist construction, and the building of a new life for the people.

Thus, with respect to building the political quality of the army and exploiting the traditional quality of "being loyal to the party, understanding the people, and being ready to fight and make sacrifices for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism," the leading tasks today are to expose the nature of capitalism and the new plots of the enemy, clarify the nature of socialism, and, based on this, enable the army to maintain its Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, hold fast to the socialist revolutionary path, protect the leadership of the party and dictatorship of the proletariat, and, together with the task of preparing to defend the fatherland, resolutely defend socialism and the principles of the socialist revolution.

The political nature of "Uncle Ho's army" in the present situation is manifested in the fact that it is always vigilant in the face of the enemy's plots. Together with the people, the army is striving to overcome the loopholes that the enemy could use, defeat the plots and stratagems of the enemy, and preserve the political stability of the country. Thus, we must revive the army's tradition of being not only a combat and production unit but also a work unit as President Ho Chi Minh taught.

## 2. Give real attention to the lives of "Uncle Ho's soldiers":

In the past, our cadres and soldiers voluntarily left their families and native villages in order to fight to erase the shame of people who had lost their country. They did not think about salaries or compensation. They were ready to make sacrifices without demanding anything in return. Their lives were very simple and in accord with the very difficult lives of the laboring people. During the war, circulation was limited and so they were affected very little by the outside situation.

Today, things are very different. The lives of the people have changed. Domestic and international circulation has been expanded. People have access to much information and are greatly affected by the flow of information and different culture and ways of life. As a result, their thinking, understanding, and political views are different from those of their father's generation. Their material and spiritual needs are quite varied. In carrying out their obligations, they also make demands.

Military cadres consider military service to be their profession. They think about the future when their period of service has ended. They don't have the skills necessary to find another job in order to make a living, because they have been trained only for military service. What will their lives be like if their salaries are low and they don't have any savings?

Soldiers are youths who are fulfilling their military obligation. In carrying out their obligations, they can't help but think about their rights. Many of them have had to give up their studies and jobs. In some cases, their families have encountered difficulties, because they have lost their labor.

Our cadres and soldiers are carrying out their jobs and fulfilling their obligations at a time when the economy consists of many elements. In the production sphere, the party and state are using individual interests as a direct motive force to stimulate the expansion of production. At the same time, in the military labor sphere, the only motive force is that of serving the people and supporting the revolution for independence, freedom, and socialism, which requires that people be prepared to fight and make sacrifices. People serving in the military must create this motive force for themselves and use this motive as their combat ideal. But the country and people must give attention to the lives and interests of those serving in the military. Today, giving attention only to education and mobilization will not bring forth the positive nature of people. Because of this, perfecting the military policies has become an objective necessity. Doing this will tie the cadres and soldiers to their patriotic obligations and create favorable conditions for exploiting the human factor and building the political quality of the army, because most of the negative phenomena in the army stem from privations in the daily lives of the soldiers.

The leading cadres and commanders in the army must give more attention to the lives of the soldiers. Even though the country is experiencing many difficulties, the state has striven to fulfill the minimum needs of each soldier. We must meet the standards to which each soldier has a right. Losses and corruption must not be allowed. Productive labor must be organized in order to improve their lives.

President Ho taught that "from the squad leader on up and from the commander in chief on down, everyone must look after the material and spiritual lives of the men. They must be concerned about the rations of the men and understand their hopes and problems. If the troops don't have food, the cadres can't complain that they are hungry. If the troops don't have sufficient clothing, the cadres can't complain that they are cold. If the troops don't have places to live, the cadres can't complain that they are tired. That will bring democracy, solidarity, and inevitable victory." [Footnote 1] ["President Ho and the People's Armed Forces," QUAN DOI NHAN DAN Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, page 103] We must ponder the above teaching in order to foster wonderful feelings toward and see our great responsibility to the soldiers. We must make an effort to overcome the shortcomings in looking after the lives of the soldiers. This is the only way to achieve results in building the men of "Uncle Ho's army."

### 3. Implement democracy and solidify discipline:

Unlike people in other social systems, people in a socialist system are the masters. If that role of the people is manifested, socialism will be invincible.

The army is a force of society. The people in the military are masters, too. Thus, only by defining this role of the people can we manifest this strength. To talk about socialist democracy in the military is to talk about the main role of soldiers in carrying on military operations, defending the fatherland, and defending socialism. Socialist democracy will determine the direction of army building, and it is the factor that will form the character of people and establish the political and moral atmosphere in the units. It is the source of the creativity and energy of people. It is the source of the army's strength.

But in our army, socialist democracy has not been fully manifested. Cadres continue to divide soldiers by operations processes and "issue" democracy. Of course, the special nature of military organization requires that soldiers unconditionally obey every order given by their commanders. But that does not mean that soldiers must carry out the orders in a passive manner and limit their initiative in building the unit. Formal democracy is still widespread. Unit activities are still conducted in accord with the orders, but this is just so that the cadres can observe the soldiers and assign tasks. The soldiers, the subjects of the actions, aren't allowed to think, discuss things, or give opinions and so they lack creativity and energy. In carrying on criticism and self-criticism, the soldiers don't criticize the cadres.

A number of cadres, particularly primary-level cadres, do not respect the soldiers. They rely on their powers to oppress and attack the soldiers. This is the reason for the lack of solidarity and unity and the poor discipline in the units. This also explains the disappointment of the soldiers and the sluggish atmosphere at the bases.

Democracy must go hand in hand with equality. Without the one, you can't have the other. Today's army is composed of people of different generations. Each generation has its own strengths and weaknesses. These are all interwoven, and so it is very difficult to separate them.

Energy and sensitivity are the strengths of the young generation. But they also lack experience, enthusiasm, and a sense of urgency, and they become angry easily.

Experience, steadfastness, and maturity are the strengths of the older generation, but they are also impatient and can be conservative and sluggish.

In evaluating each other, each generation usually uses itself as the standard. There is a lack of objectivity and fairness, which can lead to mistakes. The self-affirmation of the younger generation has led to stubbornness and arrogance. The experience and steadfastness of the older generation has led to conservatism and stubbornness. As a result, the older generation does not trust the younger generation, and the younger generation is prejudiced against the older generation.

Only if this is overcome will the two generations be able to live together harmoniously with democracy and equality, respect each other, and work together to complete the tasks.

Socialist society is organized based on the law, and socialist laws both manifest and guarantee socialist democracy. Soldiers must obey the laws of the socialist state. At the same time, because of the special nature of military organization, they must adhere to army regulations and obey the orders of their commanders. But this discipline is the self-conscious discipline of masters. Thus, democracy is even more correct. Or to put it another way, as the ownership role improves, there will be greater discipline and stronger solidarity and unity.

### 4. Strive to solidify the "fish and water" relationship between the army and the people:

Our army is an army of the people, and it fights for the people. The army and people are joined in a close relationship. Together, they have scored victories and made history.

But in the new period, this relationship has changed. There are many reasons for this. In the past, during wartime, without the people the army could not have completed the tasks. Our war was a people's war. The people were the eyes and ears of the soldiers. They provided information on the enemy to the troops, kept secrets for the troops, and led the way to combat. Our rear area was the people's rear area. The people transported ammunition and wounded soldiers, looked after the wounded, and transported grain for the troops. Because the soldiers operated in places temporarily, their bases were the hearts of the people. The army fought to protect the hamlets and villages and the lives and property of the people. In their spare time, the troops helped the people produce and contributed to looking after their lives.

In such circumstances, the troops saw the work of the people and the feelings that the people had for them. Only with the people could they complete their tasks. And the people saw the great sacrifices that the troops were making to protect their lives and defend the country.

Today, the country is at peace. The people are engaged in productive labor in accord with the appeals of the party and state. Looking after the army is the responsibility of the state. The people pay taxes. The army must give attention to training and live separately. Thus, there is no longer the same closeness between the army and the people in carrying out the tasks in daily life. The army and the people help each other only in special circumstances. Some people try to find ways to keep their children from having to fulfill their military obligation so that they can stay at home and help look after the family. Many people are indifferent about building the army. Their feelings toward the army are different from before.

In the army, many people calculate "gains" and "losses," particularly at a time when many negative phenomena have arisen in society and there is much injustice. Moreover, military labor is very tiring and life is difficult and so soldiers are not devoted to fulfilling the tasks. Even worse, there have been various negative actions. For example, soldiers have deserted or committed disciplinary violations against the people. This has affected the feelings of the people toward the army.

Clearly, the relationship between the army and the people has grown weaker. Recognizing this, the army and the people are working to overcome this and strengthen the "fish and water" relationship, a glorious tradition of our army and people.

In the army, everyone must clearly understand that the people are the source of life of the army and the source of our army's great strength. Fighting for the people is the reason for the existence of the army, and this is the army's ideal. The army must revive the tradition of the "army working" to make a positive contribution to the political and social processes of the country, strengthen the close relationship with the people, and allow itself to be educated by the people.

#### 5. Renovate building people in the army:

Improving political quality in the army means educating and building people. For the past several years, the army has made a great effort on this front but has failed to achieve the results desired. There are reasons for this. This work has not been carried on in a systematic and synchronized manner in accord with science or the laws of human development. At times, attention has been focused on political training, but little attention has been given to human development in life. Attention has been given to educating people, but no attention has been given to the educational environment and nothing has been done to block anti-educational activities. Even in political training, the contents and methods have sometimes been inappropriate.

The problem of educating and building people is a broad problem. This is both a science and an art. In order to improve the political quality of soldiers, the contents of the political training must be in line with the changed situation and tasks. There must be a thorough understanding of the lines, policies, and positions of the party and state. Traditional qualities must be taught in conjunction with the strengths and weaknesses of the units. Guidelines must be given for making changes.

Training and education affect the character of people in order to improve their quality and capabilities. The objectives of today's education are different. These place great demands on the educators in terms of both contents and methods. Thus, for training to have an effect, the trainers must adhere to theory in order to persuade the students through truth. They must not exert pressure. They must stick to the realities of the revolution and unit's situation in order to make it easy for the students to distinguish between right and wrong. They must equip their students with the necessary knowledge and somehow transform that knowledge into ideals and confidence. They must improve their political steadfastness. Instructors must not simply lecture. They must make the students want to understand and get them to participate in debates in order to clarify the problems raised. The instructors must provide direction so that the students learn how to study on their own and change and develop themselves. Getting close to individuals in order to provide concrete education is the most effective method.

Attention must be given to creating a good environment for learning. Good people cannot be developed in an environment filled with anti-educational phenomena: degraded cadres, a lack of social fairness, evil life, and so on. Only in an environment in which the cadres give attention to the material and spiritual lives of the soldiers and the soldiers are educated and trained in an atmosphere of democracy, fairness, and love will human development in the army achieve results.

### Renovate Economic Management

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 5, May 90 pp 35-39, 54

[Article by Truong Son; not translated]

### Democratizing the Rural Areas—The Leading Requirement of Social Progress

902E0266A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 5, May 90 pp 40-43, 50

[Article by Tran Ngoc Hien, MA in economics]

[Text] The advances in the rural areas will be the fundamental measure of our country's social progress. That is because more than 50 million people—80 percent of the country's population—live in rural areas. The only path for developing the rural areas is the path of democratizing all aspects of rural life with the targets being civilization and prosperity, that is, socialism.

1. Looking at the situation in the rural areas, to democratize the rural areas, the first thing is to review things in the rural areas. With a scientific outlook and feeling of loyalty, what do we see in the rural areas?

First, the rural areas are the largest source of our country's revolutionary forces. These forces contributed to winning national independence. Today, these forces are still one of the decisive factors with respect to the success of the revolution. The Soviet Union had much higher standards than our country. But after the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out that "after 10-20 years of a correct relationship with the peasants, victory will be assured on a worldwide scale (even with the slowness of the proletarian revolutions). If not, there will be 20-40 years of suffering with the white terror." [Footnote 1] [Lenin, "Collected Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, volume 43, page 459] Thus, according to Lenin, the correct economic and social policy is "to begin with the peasants." A mistake in the peasant policy is a mistake concerning the political line and revolutionary strategy.

Second, the peasants have a patriotic tradition, and they have been close to the party in the revolutionary periods. But today, because of the social and political problems in the rural areas, not every place is peaceful.

The long war ended 15 years ago, and today almost all of the people have enough to eat. But the social and security problems are still very serious. In many places, the party and administrative organizations have become bureaucratic in nature, and many cadres oppress the masses.

The relationship between the cities and the rural areas has undergone various changes. Many economic organizations in the cities are expanding business activities that will not benefit the rural areas. Some are even using the difficulties of the rural areas to make a profit (particularly a number of foreign trade and financial organizations).

Our rural areas are very backward as compared with the cities even though our cities are underdeveloped.

Third, the situation on the cultural and educational fronts is worrisome, too. Today, the number of illiterate people is increasing, particularly among children. The number of illiterate adults is also increasing, especially in the midlands and mountain areas. Superstitions and corrupted customs are being revived, and they are expanding. Little attention is given to our rich popular culture.

In general, intellectual standards are low. This poses an obstacle to democratic and political development. Low intellectual standards also contain dangerous potential that extremists and demagogues can make use of.

Fourth, the above things stem from the fact that the rural economy is backward. There is small-scale agricultural, and self-sufficiency is still widespread. This must be regarded as the major economic and social characteristic of our country's revolution today.

If the view that "agriculture is the leading front" is separated from the need for rural progress, there will be no conceptual growth and the ownership abilities and real ownership rights of the peasants will be meaningless, because they will be far removed from the revolutionary targets. Furthermore, it will not be possible to carry out the agricultural tasks even though agriculture and farmers are the main source for maintaining social life and the main factor for ensuring social stability.

In reality, such separation has already taken place to a certain degree. The system of household contracts has given the peasants independence in production. The switch to a commodity economy is creating possibilities for the formation of democracy in the economy. But this is being blocked, because the business guidelines of many commercial and financial corporations are still very backward. The economic interests of the people in the rural areas are arbitrarily disrupted in many ways and so how can we talk about other interests?

From the above situation, it can be concluded that the time has come when we must look directly at the real situation in the rural areas in order to make accurate evaluations, implement effective measures to improve the material and spiritual lives of the peasants, develop the new rural area, and quickly revive the values concerning the relationship between the party and the peasants, a relationship that was built with blood and sweat during the revolutionary periods. That is the basis for ensuring the democratization of the rural areas.

2. The path and conditions for democratizing rural life:

Democracy is an element of civilization. It is both the nature and target of the revolution. But to prevent democratization from falling into anarchy and being used, the main contents and conditions of democratization must be clarified.

a. Economic democratization: Democracy is not a present from above, and it cannot be obtained through the desire of those below. Democratizing social life has meaning and strength only when it begins from economics.

Not every socioeconomic structure can be democratized. A self-sufficient or state subsidized economy cannot be democratized. That economy just gives rise to bureaucratic centralism and slavery in various forms. If a system of collective ownership is built but there is still a self-sufficient economy (such as during the period 1960-1980), there can't be real democracy. Even if the party leads with excellent targets, it cannot "tie" democracy to a self-sufficient collective economy. The economy will spawn parasitic bureaucrats. The peasants will be passive and indifferent even if the state tries to improve the management of the cooperatives.

To have economic democracy, agriculture and the rural areas must gradually shift to a commodity economy. That is a process of socializing the self-sufficient rural areas. In a commodity economy, people work for everyone, the rural areas are tied to the cities, interests are dependent on each other, and the interests of each side are measured through the markets. During the years of renovation, we have made initial progress in this direction.

However, we are now at a junction. The self-sufficient economy can take the rural areas backwards. A spontaneous commodity economy can stimulate economic growth, but it will not be possible to avoid exploitation and a decline in social relationships. Only with a socialist commodity economy can we hit the economic targets and have democracy.

Developing the commodity economy in that way will bring prosperity for both the rural areas and the cities and bring about a new relationship between the peasants and the workers and intellectuals.

Developing commodity agriculture in conjunction with rural and urban industry will ensure a constant improvement in the lives of the peasants and lead to the formation of a new social relationship and new laborers in the rural areas.

In order to implement economic democracy in the present situation, the following measures must gradually be implemented:

First, steps must be taken to expand the individual and household contract economy based on commodity production by quickly improving and expanding circulation sectors such as marketing and credit cooperatives, domestic and foreign trade, and banking. Today, these are the key elements in the rural economy. In years when harvests are good, the markets and the circulation sector must be expanded.

The household economy must be expanded to enable the peasants to fully manifest their production forces and

quickly improve their lives. This is an effective economic democratization measure for stabilizing society in our country.

Second, based on economic and cultural development and the voluntary nature of the peasants, the peasants must be helped in gradually implementing cooperativization, from circulation to production and in sectors where collective work is more profitable than individual work. Particular attention must be given to forming stock cooperatives and stock corporations, which are more democratic economic forms. In order to satisfy the social needs of the peasants, there must be cultural and social organizations and occupational associations.

Third, developing a multi-faceted economy in the rural areas is an important element with respect to economic democracy. This development will satisfy the various needs of the rural areas and manifest the need for a division of labor stemming from the liberation and expansion of the rural production forces.

Fourth, at the level of the villages and territorial regions, forms should be developed to link agriculture with industry, such as:

Agricultural production with small industry and handicrafts.

The production of raw materials with the processing industry.

Agricultural production with exports and imports and international joint ventures.

The household and cooperative economy with service and other industrial sectors.

The above parallel ties play a very important role for the production and consumption of the peasants. On one hand, these will create rural markets, which is a condition for the peasants to manifest their independence in production and consumption without being exploited by monopoly organizations. On the other hand, these will create a new economic structure in the rural areas, completely different from the old agriculture.

Fifth, the development of rural economic democracy requires the help of the state, above all financial and technical help, with the aim being to create additional sources of initial capital for production and the construction of an infrastructure in the rural areas.

b. Political democracy: Economic democracy cannot be separated from political democracy and vice versa. They must both be developed simultaneously and in conjunction with each other. That is the only way to manifest the nature of socialist democracy, even though this is just the start. Only by developing things this way will it be possible for the peasants to really become the masters of the new rural area. This is completely different from a number of places where just a few people in the village administration control the rural area free from the control of anyone else.



In order to implement political democracy, the quality of the elections must be improved. The peasants must understand things and participate.

Political democracy is a mechanism in which the people participate in controlling the administration and in checking and removing people. If the people have a chance to vote only once every several years, they won't understand things or have any real rights with respect to the administration. The administration will become the "father" of the people.

Political democracy also depends on the real operating results of the mass organizations and social organizations. The development of political democracy must lead to the formation of an alliance between the peasants and the workers and intellectuals in the rural areas, to a change in the social structure in the rural areas, and to the formation of a new social structure.

c. Conditions necessary for implementing democracy: To democratize social life, simply having a dream, formulating resolutions, and spreading propaganda is not enough. Conditions for achieving civilization must be created, and this must be protected.

Here, I will discuss the two main conditions, without which the problem of democracy is just empty words.

First, intellectual standards must be raised. Developing democracy must go hand in hand with raising intellectual standards. If intellectual standards are low, there can be no real democracy, which will contain the danger of bureaucratic centralism and slavery. Low intellectual standards provide favorable conditions for opportunists and reactionaries to fool the masses, particularly when the masses have legitimate complaints about inequalities having to do with bureaucratic administrative elements.

In the world, there have been peaceful transfers of power through elections. But the people running for election have made vague promises and even purchased votes. This has happened because the people's regime has been bureaucratized and intellectual standards have been low, with a loss of direction. These two factors are related to each other very closely. Of course, this situation is also due to negative influences from the outside.

Intellectual standards are manifested in the development of individuals and social organizations. Only after each citizen has a social and political concept, is concerned about the fate of the nation and social progress, and has the ability to understand and control himself and contribute to controlling society can there be real democracy. Only then can the roots of bureaucratic centralism and administrative degeneration be smashed. Only then will there be no place for opportunists and reactionaries.

In order to raise intellectual standards, the information, educational, and cultural conditions must be created, and forms of dialogue among the people and with the party and administrative organizations must be developed.

In particular, there must be synchronized measures concerning economic interests and cultural needs, and technical advances must be transferred to the peasants, particularly rural youths. If these measures are separated, the results will be poor.

Second, the organizational and leadership standards of the party and the administrative and democratic organizational standards of the administration must be improved. The democratization process depends on the leadership of the party and the management of the state. This leadership and management are decisive conditions, but they are not the goals of the social process in the rural areas. The goal of this revolution is to turn rural people into worthy masters together with the workers, intellectuals, and other laborers. That is the only goal of the party.

Thus, there is a relationship between the development of democracy and the consolidation of the party and administration. Without the leadership of the party and the control of the administration, there will be disorder in society. But consolidating the party and exploiting the administration must be based on the people as masters.

This simultaneous development is a dialectic process between renovating and defending the revolution, which will enable the party, the people, and the administration to reach a higher level.

### **On the 'Party Leads, the People Serve as Masters, and the State Manages' Mechanism in the Socialist Revolution**

902E0276A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 5, May 90 pp 44-46, 73

[Article by Professor Tran Huu Tien, MA in philosophy]

[Text] The "party leads, the people serve as masters, and the state manages" mechanism originated from the need to systematize political and social relationships in accord with our country's special characteristics. This mechanism seeks to distinguish the role and functions of the organizations in the political system in order to guarantee the ownership rights of the people. But there are many different opinions about this mechanism, and there are many problems that have not been clarified. In my view, in the process of drafting a program, there must be more discussion about this general formula.

#### **1. The logic of the mechanism:**

The above mechanism was formed on account of three factors: the party, the people, and the state. The first and third factors have to do with the organizations in the political system. The second factor does not concern the organizations but the whole (the people). Thus, can these three factors together be called a "mechanism?" If they do form a "mechanism," the three factors must be synchronized. For example, the party, the state, and the mass organizations. Why doesn't the mechanism say anything about the mass organizations? Some people

think that the concept of the "people" already includes the mass organizations. But then, why doesn't the "people" also include the party and the state?

If the above mechanism is a functional mechanism, it must clearly define the functions of each factor. We can talk about the functions of the party and the state, but no one has ever talked about the "functions of the people."

The above mechanism is not a power mechanism either. That's because in our society, all power belongs to the people. The power of the people is absolute. It can't be compared or divided. The power of the state is just a manifestation of the power of the people.

In my view, the "people serve as masters" must be the inclusive factor of the mechanism. In the above phrase, the party and the state are included within the scope of the "people." This means that the element "the people serve as masters" must include "the party leads" and "the state manages." Thus, the leadership of the party and the control of the state cannot be separated from the ownership rights of the people. Separating them this way is incorrect and unscientific.

## 2. The relationship between leadership, ownership, and management:

If each element is examined separately, there is nothing to question. But when these three factors are combined in this mechanism, very difficult questions arise.

The first question is: Does using these three terms to draw a distinction between them clarify the role and functions of each element and avoid overlapping?

What was the problem in the operating mechanism of our political system during the state subsidies period? In my view, the problem was not that the party did not have leadership powers. And the problem was not that the party performed the management function on behalf of the state. Rather, the problem was that the party "overlapped" the state with respect to powers, and this limited socialist democracy. As for the function of the state, the main problem was not that the state did not perform its management function. Rather, the problem was that the state managed things using bureaucratic centralism, which was an ineffective mechanism. Also, the powers of the state did not adequately manifest the powers of the people.

The party must lead if socialist construction is to be successful. That is a clear truth. But the main target of the mechanism is not to affirm that general law. The mechanism stresses that the party must fulfill its leadership function and not take over the management function of the state or become a bureaucratic apparatus that violates the rights of the people. That plan is correct. It has a very timely meaning. But the question is, How does the party lead? What do the past 70 years of socialism show us? The political situation has become very complex in the socialist countries not because the communist parties have failed to seize their leadership rights but

because the parties have gotten away from proletarian democratic methods in leadership. The changes concerning leadership have weakened the role of the party even though this is written in the constitution. We cannot answer these very difficult questions using simple formulas or by simply making a distinction between leadership and management or leadership and ownership.

Furthermore, people have asked: Why doesn't the party manage? During the struggle for power, the party's main task was to provide leadership in the struggle for power. Once power was in the hands of the people, the party led the people and, together with the people, managed the country and society. The party both learned how to manage and guided the people in managing things. No one can deny the social management role of the party, which had the credentials of a party in power. Furthermore, the party was a very important factor in management. Lenin pointed out that once the proletarian class has gained power, the management task will become the central task. The party could not refuse to accept this management responsibility with the full meaning of this word, that is, "organization in the sphere of practice." Party members and party organizations had to learn how to manage. Of course, the party had to manage in accord with the methods of the party and could not usurp the management tasks of the state. This is the way that we still do things.

The party leads by using correct political lines to manifest the basic interests of the people, by persuading the people to implement the party's lines, and by training and educating the cadres and party members so that the people can select them for positions in the state administration. The party leads by proposing major social and economic development guidelines and plans having a scientific basis. These are then discussed by the masses and revised so that the state can point out and guide the implementation of the plans, policies, and laws. The party is the only organization with such a leadership function.

Let's talk now about the "state manages." According to the mechanism, the state's function is to manage, not lead. But can the state refrain completely from leading? I think that the state has a leadership function. It is not just an administrative apparatus. The people have entrusted the state with the power and responsibility of managing all aspects of social life. The activities of the state follow the leadership of the party, which means that the people accept the leadership of the party. But the leadership of the party must maintain the major role of the state and not "lead the state by the hand" in every activity. It would be a mistake to think that there is a division of political leadership power between the party and the state. It would also be wrong to think that state management does not entail leadership activities.

As for the functions of the state, the mechanism uses the word "management." I think that that is correct, but that requires explanation. It's correct that the state is the

center of the social management mechanism. But management is not the task just of the state, even though the hub of management is concentrated on the state. In my view, the key question is: Who manages? The mechanism's answer is: the state. Does that mean that the people don't manage? The strength of our society is that the people have the right to manage society and are becoming more and more involved in management. Some people think that to say that the state manages is to say that the people are already managing things. But that is not correct. The state managing is not synonymous with the people managing, just as the state is not synonymous with the people or society. (When these terms are completely synonymous, the state will have withered away. But that is far in the future.) We must correctly resolve the issue of the relationship between management by the state and management by the people. Everyone knows that having ownership rights is very different from actually serving as master. To become real masters, the people must become involved in managing every aspect of social life. They must participate more and achieve real results in managing the state. Because the state is not only the manager but also the target of management. But managing the state is not an innate capability of every person. The management standards of our country's laborers are still low. This is easy to understand, because the old system prevented the laborers from playing a role in managing society and managing the state. Today, our goal is to enable all laborers to participate in managing things. If laborers continue to stay out of management, it will be impossible to avoid returning to the situation in which there is a group of professional managers, with the masses following along, obeying orders. And if that is the case, how can we say that the people are masters? It's like a cooperative. The cooperative members are called the

owners, but these owners know nothing about the affairs of the cooperative. They don't know anything about the management of the assets, materials, or funds, the production plans, labor management, or share plans of the cooperative. Thus, although it is correct to talk about the "people serving as masters," that is too general and abstract. We must also talk about the people managing things and about enabling the people to really participate in management. In my view, the present mechanism does not manifest the idea that the "people must be the managers, which includes managing the state." Given our present mechanism, it seems as if management is the work of the state alone.

We must affirm the principle of "all powers in society belong to the people" in the operational mechanism of our political system. This principle is specific and has a much more "mechanical meaning" than the concept of "ownership." If there is a clear concept concerning the rights of the people, particularly the right to manage the state, and these rights are guaranteed by the correct leadership of the party and systematized by law, even without the word "ownership," the substance will still be the same.

In our present renovation work, along with renovating the economy and society, renovating the political system is an urgent task. That means renovating the leadership of the party, renovating the organizational and operational structure of the state, and renovating the activities of the mass organizations in order to build a socialist democracy with the nature of a target and the motive force of socialism. This task is very difficult and complex. Thus, this will require much thought about the "party leads, the people serve as masters, and the state manages" mechanism. We must see if this has been perfected and if this really expresses the renovation requirements.

**Bank Credit Rates—A Different Lesson**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 5, May 90 pp 47-50

[Article by Le Van Tu; not translated]

**Economics in Culture and Literature—A Pressing Problem**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 5, May 90 pp 51-54

[Article by Tran Trong Dan Dan; not translated]

### **The NEP and the Use of the Commodity-Currency Relationship**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 5, May 90 pp 55-59

[Article by Cao Duy Ha; not translated]

### **Development Trends in Vietnamese Foreign Trade Until the Year 2000**

902E0264A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 5, May 90 pp 60-64, 70

[Article by Nguyen The Uan, MA in Economics]

[Text] Ever since the south was liberated, the fatherland was unified, and socialist construction was carried on on a nationwide scale, we have not had a foreign economic strategy. We will pay dearly for our slowness in formulating such a strategy. As a result of not having a suitable foreign trade strategy to guide foreign trade activities here, there is great confusion in this sphere.

First, because of not having a long-term foreign trade strategy to serve as a compass, the policies and methods put forth in this sphere are usually a patchwork, and they are usually passive in nature.

Since 1975, particularly since 1980, the state has put forth many positions and policies in order to expand foreign trade, but none of these positions and policies have made any basic changes in the trade situation, which means to make effective use of the import-export sources to improve the structure, expand production in terms of both breadth and depth, increase social labor productivity, satisfy the ever-increasing needs of domestic trade, and increase exports.

Both domestic and foreign trade are still unstable and passive, because we do not have a policy to protect and expand production. We do not have a policy that clearly stipulates directions and amounts.

Second, although there have been changes, at the macrocosmic level the foreign trade management system is still inefficient, because the state's positions and policies in this sphere are arbitrary and contain many loopholes. The discipline of the state apparatus in managing import-export activities is poor. Localism is still serious in foreign trade.

At a time when we do not yet have a foreign trade strategy or a financial, monetary, and judicial base strong enough to enable the state to control the country's trade activities in a unified manner, giving the sectors, localities, and production installations greater independence in managing import-export activities has led to a situation in which the strong become even stronger and things are done based on market spontaneity. The result is that production and the lives of the laborers are becoming more and more difficult.

Today, our country's foreign commerce sector is encountering many difficulties concerning production, markets, and foreign and domestic payments. Carrying on import-export activities through trade competition and seeking to profit from price differences at any price will make foreign trade activities even more difficult than they already are. Unless we clearly set guidelines for expanding foreign commerce for a specific period of time in order to make concentrated use of the country's existing capabilities, it will be difficult to overcome the above situation quickly and effectively.

Our country's realities during the past years have shown:

Our foreign economic activities have consisted primarily of bartering activities. Foreign trade still holds a very important position in our country's economic and social development. In particular, during the initial stage of the transition from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, foreign trade will not only help us compete for capital and technology and obtain technological projects from outside but will also enable us to adjust quickly to the world economic tide. This problem is very important, because today, science and technology are moving forward very rapidly. Failure to adjust to the world economic tide means elimination.

In our country, agricultural production and small industry and handicrafts are still the leading fronts. In 1987, agricultural laborers accounted for 72.6 percent of the country's labor forces. [Footnote 1] ["1988 Nien Giam Thong Ke" (1988 Statistical Yearbook)] This is significant not only for domestic markets but also for exports. Today, investments in agriculture, particularly investments in expanding the production of agricultural products for export, are limited. In 1986, investments in agriculture were equal to only 55 percent of investments in industry. [Footnote 2] ["1987 Nien Giam Thong Ke"] And at that time, agricultural products (including marine products and a number of forest products) were the most profitable export goods. These products can be exported to socialist and capitalist countries more easily than other types of goods. In we had a correct investment policy and suitable measures to protect and expand production and domestic markets, we could quickly expand agricultural products to serve as the main source of exports in the current period.

Our country's industry is still weak. Production results are poor. Industry is not strong enough to compete on world markets. Thus, industry is not a strong force in our exports.

To advance, industrialization in our country must support agriculture, because only if agricultural production expands can the country's existing capital be exploited in order to invest in industry, provide sources of raw materials for industry, particularly the processing industry, and create large consumption capabilities to enable industry to expand during the initial stage of the transitional period. Here, the policy to support domestic industrial production is of decisive significance.

From experimenting for many years, export processing has become an industrial export form suited to our country's present conditions (lack of capital and markets). Besides this, the export of industrial laborers to various countries has become a major source of foreign currency for the country. Having correct investment and compensation policies will stimulate the export of laborers.

"Export little, import much" is a common phenomenon in a backward economic country that wants to become a modern industrial producer in today's conditions. The model "import first, export second" is a suitable model during the initial stage of the transitional period. In this, importing items by borrowing from abroad accounts for a sizable percentage. In our country, for many years now that percentage has averaged about 60-70 percent of total imports.

Starting from the above arguments, what should Vietnam's foreign economic viewpoint be in the present stage?

While continuing to expand production and business independence in a multi-faceted economy, the state must manage all the foreign economic activities in order to protect domestic commodities and expand domestic production in accord with the guidelines and plans formulated. As for production, small-scale production forms can be accepted. But in business, large-scale business forms must be used in order to attract large sources of capital, create a large consumer market, and stabilize production (naturally, there must be a domestic consumer policy).

An open door and protectionism are two opposing aspects that have a dialectical relationship. A correct foreign economic viewpoint must coordinate these two opposing aspects in accord with the country's conditions and directions. Today, with respect to our country's economy, ensuring the expansion of production, particularly industrial production, is very important.

Proposals concerning guidelines for expanding Vietnam's foreign trade from now until the Year 2000:

Our country's difficulties are long-term difficulties. These are manifested in the following points:

1. The lack of capital, particularly foreign capital, is becoming more and more serious. Because of our inability to pay our debts, it is very difficult to borrow more money from abroad, particularly long-term loans from foreign governments, financial institutions, and international currency organizations. Long-term foreign loans for initial investment in the national economy will be very limited.

2. The shortage of jobs for millions of laborers in the country has been and still is a serious problem on both the economic and social fronts.

3. The shape of the production structure has not been clearly defined. In particular, in the industrial sphere,

productivity is low, quality is poor, production costs are high, and competitiveness is poor with respect to both foreign and domestic trade.

4. There is still much confusion in the circulation and distribution sphere.

5. The fiscal and monetary system has been passive and ineffective for a long time. The state budget continues to show a deficit. There is a serious international and domestic balance of payments deficit.

6. The state's economic and social management mechanism is ineffective. The economic policies in general are unstable, and they contain many loopholes. The laws are not synchronized, and they are not enforced strictly. The state's material bases (financial, currency, and national reserves) are weak. The management apparatus is out of balance and lacks discipline.

The above problems are major difficulties. It will take time to solve these problems, perhaps several decades, and resolute integrated economic and administrative measures will have to be used. In this, man is the decisive factor.

Even though there is still no official economic and social strategy to the year 2000, given the country's real conditions and capabilities as tested in past years, it can be affirmed that only by quickly expanding agricultural production both extensively and intensively will it be possible to create the material conditions necessary for switching from small-scale to large-scale production in a steady manner.

Along with expanding and modernizing agricultural production, we must actively invest in the small industry and handicrafts and light industry sectors, which are related to satisfying the essential and broad consumer needs of the people. The real purpose of expanding production in these sectors is to stimulate agricultural production, because only if there are sufficient industrial goods to exchange for agricultural production will we be able to stimulate agricultural production.

As for heavy industry, we must invest selectively with respect to targets, scale, and speed. Attention must be given to a number of key sectors such as energy, machinery, chemicals, and mining. Industry must advance in an appropriate manner so that it can quickly manifest an effect in supporting the expansion of agriculture and consumer industries. The first thing is to invest in improving and upgrading the communications and transportation network and the signal and liaison network to help implement the immediate plans and support future plans.

Suitable attention must be given to various services such as transport, signal and liaison, travel, public health, and so on in order to support production, domestic life, and exports.

Based on the above targets, the direction of expansion in the foreign trade sector to the year 2000 can be set as follows:

1. In the coming decade (1990-2000), in our country's export pattern, agricultural, forestry, and marine products will continue to hold the leading position. These are traditional types of goods that can expand quickly and relatively effectively as compared with other types of goods. After that comes small industry and handicraft goods and light industry goods, using domestic raw materials or processing items for export.

The machine industry and mining sectors cannot be expanded quickly, because production capabilities are still small, investment capital is limited, and construction times are relatively long. In the coming 5-10 years, there will be few such goods for export.

As for crop growing, attention must be focused on traditional types of goods such as rice, corn, peanuts, soybeans, sugarcane, pineapple, coconut, coffee, tea, rubber, jute, wood used to produce paper, and so on.

As for animal husbandry, attention must be given to hogs, cattle, poultry, fresh-water fish, shrimp, and various special products.

In the small-industry and handicrafts sector, attention must be given to art objects such as lacquer ware, inlaid objects, and jewelry and to various common consumer goods such as embroidered articles, mats, bamboo articles, ceramic articles, wooden articles, and so on.

As for light industry, attention must be given to ready-made clothing, shoes, articles made of skins, mineral water, paper, and flour.

In the heavy industry and mining sectors, attention must be given to reserving a portion of the products for export. This includes such products as crude oil, anthracite coal, tin, chromite, apatite, precious stones, and so on. The percentage of raw materials exported can be gradually reduced depending on the rate of expansion of the domestic processing industry.

In order to implement the above export guidelines, the state must have specific plans and suitable policies:

With respect to agriculture, stable sales must be guaranteed for the producers regardless of the situation. That is, the situation in which no one purchases the goods that have been produced must be avoided. In order to do this, the state must closely coordinate domestic and foreign trade so that these two aspects aid each other. At the same time, there must be an agricultural support fund to help producers whenever necessary.

Besides this, the state must invest heavily in infrastructural projects and factories directly related to agricultural production. This includes storehouses, special-use port bridges, fertilizer and insecticide production plants, plant propagation farms, and enterprises to process important agricultural products. There must be suitable

steps to quickly increase the percentage of processed agricultural products in exports. By the year 2000, processed agricultural products, particularly forest products and long-term industrial crops, must account for approximately one-half to two-thirds of the agricultural products exported. As for small-industry and handicrafts and light industry, policies must be formulated to stimulate an improvement in styles and encourage having a greater variety of products and improving product quality. Naturally, measures must be implemented to prevent domestic markets from being flooded with foreign goods. Without such protectionist measures, small-industry and handicrafts and light industry production will stagnate, and domestic consumption will be influenced.

As for heavy industry and mining, attention must be given to domestic and foreign trade policies in order to fix export quotas. The percentage of repair equipment must be increased in order to repair ships for others and support repairing and extending the longevity of the imported equipment and machinery, which is the same as reducing imports. Here, the state must implement correct investment policies in order to exploit these services.

Besides this, accepting contracts to build houses, roads, and public projects for other countries must be expanded, and we must continue to export technical laborers, specialists, and seamen. Tourism must be promoted, ships and airports must be made available, and the ship repair facilities for other countries must be expanded.

2. During the coming decade (1990-2000), imports will continue to play an important role in building the material and technical base of socialism in our country. Because exports are limited, we must use the "import first, export second" model. We must "import first" by taking foreign loans in order to expand production to support the national welfare and people's livelihood and increase exports. "Export second" must be done in order to pay our debts on time and ensure that exports continue to increase. With this model, imports will play the role of an initial source of accumulation, a direct production factor and an essential balancing capability of the national economy.

Imports also have the task of contributing to building and improving our national economic structure. In order to exploit the effect of imports, the state must control all of the country's imports based on a unified plan with specific targets. The basic effects of imports are production effects, because only if production produces results will we be able to export later on in order to balance previous imports.

In order to support the program of expanding the long-term economy to the year 2000, imports must satisfy the following specific targets:

The infrastructure of the national economy must be built and improved. The first thing is to gradually modernize the railroads and highways between north and south. A

system of coastal transport ships must be organized, and port bridges, storehouses, and train stations must be built with adequate commodity circulation capabilities to support domestic production and consumption.

Capital construction in the energy, machine, chemical, and mining sectors must be maintained, with supporting agricultural production continuing to be the leading front.

As for agriculture, we must concentrate above all on the need for fertilizer, insecticides, a number of types of machinery, and a system of storehouses to support the expansion of agricultural production during the next 10 years.

As for light industry, emphasis must be placed on the pharmaceutical, electronics, ready-made clothing, and leather goods sectors. In importing items, it must be ensured that this helps modernize production. Imported inventions and permits are very important.

For many years, imports have been very dispersed. Because of this, imports have not manifested an effect in improving the production structure on a nationwide scale. The increase in the number of imported consumer goods has caused domestic production to stagnate and led to a slow-down on domestic markets.

In expanding foreign trade from now until the year 2000, imports will continue to be the decisive element. Unless

attention is given to imports and unless we strive to obtain the maximum amount of foreign currency possible, our economy will encounter many difficulties. However, investing in production to support exports beginning with the import element is an important condition for promoting exports with the aim of gradually balancing our international balance of payments.

Exports and imports are the two basic aspects of foreign trade activities. In our foreign trade strategy, exports and imports must be viewed in an all-round manner, and there must be specific and relatively stable import-export policies. In this, the foreign loan and debt payment plans must be controlled in a centralized and strict manner.

### **Creative Tides**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 5, May 90 pp 65-70

[Article by Pham Van Tho; not translated]

### **Continue to Renovate the Organization and Management of Cultural and Artistic Activities**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 5, May 90 pp 71-73

[Article by Tran Anh; not translated]



**Interview With Pham Dinh Dy on the People's Situation and Mass Mobilization in Ha Tuyen Province**

902E0268A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 5, May 90 pp 74-80

[Interview with Pham Dinh Dy, a member of the CPV Central Committee and the secretary of the Ha Tuyen Provincial CPV Committee by Pham Dinh Dang, reporter for TAP CHI CONG SAN; date and place not given]

[Text] Recently, the Party Building Committee of TAP CHI CONG SAN conducted a survey to study the people's situation and mass mobilization in Ha Tuyen Province. During the survey, we interviewed Pham Dinh Dy, a member of the CPV Central Committee and the secretary of the Ha Tuyen Provincial CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Committee, on the above problems.

[Pham Dinh Dang] Would you give us a brief summary of the people's situation and mass mobilization work in Ha Tuyen Province in recent years?

[Pham Dinh Dy] Located in the northernmost area of the fatherland, with an area of 1,363,000 hectares, Ha Tuyen Province is topographically varied and complex with beautiful mountains and rivers. The province runs from north to south from Dong Van to Yen Son and east to west from Bac Me to Xin Man. It is home to 1,026,719 people and 21 fraternal minority groups, including the King, Tay, Hmong, Dao, Nung, Cao Lan, Suong, and Giay, who live in more than 312 villages and subwards in 16 districts and cities in lowland and highland areas and in remote areas.

Our minority groups are very proud of this land, an area of the capital in the 9-year resistance against France: Cao-Bac-Lang-Thai-Tuyen-Ha, with the historical Tan Trao base and Na Lua hut, where President Ho lives and worked, the Lo River, where the bodies of enemy troops are buried, and the Binh Ca dock, from where large numbers of troops crossed.... Although there were great difficulties and shortages, all the people persisted and resolutely participated in the resistance and national construction without thought of the dangers and difficulties and without fear of making sacrifices.

In particular, for more than 10 years, with firm confidence in the party and President Ho, the 21 minority groups in Ha Tuyen Province united as one and together overcame every difficulty. Valiantly, they both produced and struggled to maintain every inch of the fatherland's sacred ground from Meo Vac to Xin Man, a remote border area running for 270 km. Many people fell. Many tribesmen sacrificed themselves for the fatherland. Thousands of villages resisted the enemy. We cannot count all the sacrifices and contributions made by the people. Moreover, the tribesmen here do not make a practice of making such calculations.

If the tribesmen in Ha Tuyen did not have confidence in and were not of one mind with the party and President Ho, why would they have shown such devotion and persistence? The tribesmen think that trusting the party means having trust in yourself and your village, country, and tribe. Without a source, there can be no stream. Without trees, there can be no forest. The people are imbued with this point, because under the guidance of the party, they contributed to reclaiming 1,048,242 hectares of forest land and 237,446 hectares of agricultural land with 280,000 tons of grain, 250,000 head of buffalo and cattle, 320,000 pigs, tens of thousands of cubic meters of timber of various types, tens of other types of forest products, and hundreds of schools, hospitals, clinics, and child-care centers.

Through reality, the tribesmen understand that the party and the people form a trunk and branch and are the source of victory. The relationship between the party and the people has become a blood relationship. This is the source of our strength and very valuable traditions.

We view this as the the root and foundation and as the secret behind the initial changes in renovation during the past three years in Ha Tuyen. But we cannot be satisfied with what we have done, because along with the good aspects, the people's situation is now undergoing unusual changes, and the mass mobilization work has exposed many weaknesses. Specifically:

The people's economic standard of living is still low. Most people are still in a state of self-reliance, and many still lead a nomadic life. Because there are not enough jobs and because they do not earn a wage or enough to live on, many workers and civil servants have to try and make a living any way they can. In doing so, many people have become corrupt. The situation in which people are irresponsible and undisciplined and steal public property is quite widespread. What is worrisome is that some of the cadres in the sectors that deal with money and goods have made use of their positions, engaged in corruption, taken bribes, stolen things together with criminal gangs, and lived a life of luxury. The standard of living of the peasants has not been stabilized and is still low. There are still many people who do not have enough to eat, and the standard of living varies greatly between regions, with some required to contribute too much. The price of agricultural products is low, the price of materials has increased rapidly, and people are incurring losses in production. Peasants are returning contract fields and cutting back on production. The loss of democracy in the rural areas is rather serious. The land disputes that have arisen are rather complex. Enveloping the economic lives of the people here is the shortage of grain, water for daily life, and essential consumer goods.

Cultural activities and health protection for the people are quite poor. Empty bases with respect to cultural life still exist. At some bases, the people have not seen a film or an art exhibit for several decades. Some 80-year-old people have just seen a film for the first time in their

lives. Illiteracy is becoming more and more widespread. The child-care centers, schools, and hospitals are far below standard. Communications and commodity circulation are very difficult. Backward and dangerous practices are on the rise, and the activities of a number of religions are expanding in many regions. Many tribesmen have an inferiority complex. Many Tay, Nung, Hmong, and Dao tribesmen have migrated to the west. There, among a number of tribesmen, people have "proclaimed themselves king" and "welcomed the king." Something that is quite serious is that at dozens of bases, many tribesmen are afraid of losing their land and fields. They fear that ethnic Vietnamese and Tay will occupy their lands. Land disputes have arisen, and people have demanded the return of land that once belonged to their ancestors.

In this varied and complex environment, our mass mobilization work has become disorderly and passive, and the results have been poor. Basic changes have not been made, and there are many backward aspects as compared with the new situation and tasks.

In implementing democracy and manifesting the ownership rights of the people, there are a number of aspects worthy of being recorded, but the role of the people in serving as masters has not been properly manifested, and the relationship between the party, the state, and the mass organizations has not been clearly defined. What is worrisome is that the party committee echelons have been both lax in leadership and all-encompassing, administrative echelons have been both ineffective and authoritarian in management, and the mass organizations have become very bureaucratic in nature. The bureaucratism of the leadership apparatus, particularly at the district echelon and at many bases, has become quite clear. The ownership rights of the people have been seriously violated. Many cadres, party members, and civil servants are remote from the people. They are authoritarian and even degraded. They oppress and abuse the people.

Although many efforts have been made, propaganda and education are still weak. Many people in party, administrative, and mass organizations don't know how to carry on mass propaganda and mobilization work. The activities of the mass organizations are uncoordinated, unattractive, and out of date.

The relationship between the regime and the people has many serious problems that must be solved as soon as possible. Many administrative organizations have not resolutely implemented measures to serve the people, and they are authoritarian and undisciplined. Management is very bureaucratic in nature, and little attention is given to motivational and persuasive measures. There is a separation between economic policies and social policies, and social policies to serve the people are neglected. The apparatus is cumbersome and isolated and lacks dynamism. It is not tied closely to the mass organizations that participate in managing the state and society.

Even though the mass organizations have striven to make renovations, things are still very disorganized in building the organizations and carrying on activities. This is shown in their inferior position and vague role, and the implementation of their functions, particularly their function of representing the ownership rights of the people and participating in economic and social management, is still weak. At the same time, the bureaucratic work style, cumbersome apparatus, and irregular activities are pushing the mass organizations away from the targets. They are not in accord with a multi-faceted economy. The work of selecting cadres is slighted, and the compensation policies are not suitable. As a result, the cadres, particularly at the bases, lack enthusiasm and are not settled in their work.

In the past period, the party committee echelons, from the provinces to the bases, have not provided proper leadership with respect to mass mobilization, and in some cases, leadership has been very loose. Many party members ignore mass mobilization work. Many people lack enthusiasm, and others avoid this work because it is very difficult. Also, it's not "lucrative." The leadership and guidance of the party committee echelons with respect to the mass organizations is also very loose, and there have been many deviations. For example, viewing the youth union as something "common" and treating the union like a work unit in order to mobilize people and make appeals has reduced the role of the union and weakened the leadership position of the party committee echelons. Similar things have happened in the case of other mass organizations. With respect to mass organization cadre work, besides imposing things, what is even more worrisome is that things are done in an arbitrary manner. Decisions to transfer key leaders of mass organizations are made without being discussed with them first. As a result, the mass organizations have lost their balance. Their activities have been interrupted, and the results achieved have been poor.

[Pham Dinh Dang] Facing this situation, what decision have you made about the basic themes of mass mobilization in Ha Tuyen in the coming years?

[Pham Dinh Dy] To talk about mass mobilization, we must first talk about building real socialist democracy in Ha Tuyen and ensuring the ownership rights of the people in every sphere with the aim of promoting a mass movement to strive to implement renovation. That is, an effort must be made to turn the people into the real masters of the country and not the target of management. The people must be kept informed about the state's important problems. A great effort must be made to implement economic democracy. On the other hand, the rights of citizens concerning travel, assembly, speech, and religious faith must be guaranteed based on the law. The organization and activities of the administrative echelons must be renovated gradually so that these echelons truly function as power organizations of the people, by the people, and for the people. By using the broad ideas of the people, rules and regulations must continue to be established in order to maintain their

activities and interests, such as labor discipline, and in order to protect public property, send people to school, raise grades, distribute housing, and so on. The activities of the people's inspection system must be renovated and promoted. An economization movement must be launched, production must be stimulated, jobs must be created, and the incomes of the various classes of people must be regulated. The emphasis must be placed on investing, mobilizing the production and business potential of the people, and motivating them to contribute to the spheres of education, culture, public health, and health maintenance in order to achieve equality between the ethnic groups, limit and eventually eliminate the differences between the regions and minority groups, and mobilize all people to participate in building and defending the country.

Second is the task of improving political and ideological work among the people and building the new socialist man. Propaganda and specific educational activities must be carried on in line with the standards for the new man. This must be done in each locality and among each minority group based on quickly raising the people's level of awareness concerning socialist revolution and the renovation line, overcoming deviationist tendencies, and opposing the provocative and destructive arguments and actions of the enemy. The educational network (including public and private schools) must be reorganized and expanded under the close control of the state. Educational quality and results must be improved. The educational and information-cultural systems must be used to improve the knowledge of the people. At the same time, we must clearly determine the investment policies and patterns of the state in coordination with the contributions of the people in order to expand the mass information network to each village and family and expand the "mouth-to-mouth" propaganda form. An effort must be made to put the movement to build a new life and build the new cultural family onto the right track, and there must be a constant struggle against social evils, backward habits and practices, and corrupt ways of life.

Third, steps must be taken to renovate the leadership of the party committee echelons with respect to the organizations and activities of the administrative echelons and with respect to the fronts, mass organizations, and social organizations. The party must lead the administration by setting correct guidelines for the activities of the administration based on the laws and through the party members in the civic organizations. The people's understanding concerning the role and function of the administration must be heightened, and their responsibility in building and protecting the administration must be increased in order to build an administration that is truly of the people, by the people, and for the people. The administration must be reorganized and solidified by clearly specifying its functions, simplifying things, maintaining the activities, maintaining energy and quickness, and achieving good results. Regulations must be formulated on coordinating activities between the administration and the mass organizations in accord with the role,

tasks, and functions of both sides. Deviations and encroachments must be avoided. The system of having the administrative echelons regularly make reports on their work, engage in self-criticism before the people, and accept the criticism and ideas of the people must be implemented strictly.

At the same time, the party committee echelons must stress renovating the activity contents and formulas of the fronts, mass organizations, and social organizations based on democratic discussions. Activities must be coordinated and unified in order to strengthen solidarity among the classes of people and motivate them to promote the activities in the localities and contribute to the country's revolution. In the fronts, the party organizations must respect the other member organizations, hold democratic consultations, and coordinate activities with them in the best way possible. Based on respecting the relative independence of the mass organizations with respect to organization, the party committee echelons must actively provide guidance and create the conditions so that they can renovate their organization based on giving attention to the quality of union and association members, implementing self-control in organizing things, carrying on activities, and selecting cadres, and establishing activity funds in a democratic, open, and practical manner.

[Pham Dinh Dang] In order to implement the fundamental contents mentioned above, what measures do you have?

[Pham Dinh Dy] To mobilize the people, the party must first reorganize itself. That is, the party must purify itself and strive to increase its leadership strength. We are urgently reexamining the party and resolutely expelling bad elements from the party apparatus, elements that have corrupted the party and harmed the close relationship between the party and the people. Only in this way will it be possible to comfort the people, increase their confidence in the party, and increase the combat strength of the party. A struggle by the entire party and all the people must be launched to oppose public corruption and waste and oppression of the masses by certain cadres, party members, and state employees. Whoever violates party discipline or breaks the law and whoever covers up for those guilty of shortcomings must be dealt with harshly. The struggle against negative phenomena in the party and in the state apparatus must be coordinated closely with the struggle against negative phenomena in society. The ranks of party members must be purified and their combat strength must be increased by elevating the exemplary vanguard role of party members. The people must criticize, educate, and closely control party members. Degraded elements must be expelled from the party immediately, and outstanding people must be recruited into the party. Party organizations from the provinces to the bases must be strengthened, with particular attention given to the party chapters, which are directly involved in leading the people and looking after the rights of the party. Cadre activities must be democratized, from selecting to training and

using cadres. This must be done using specific and suitable rules and measures (such as holding elections, holding selection examinations, and studying people's reliability).

At the same time, we are resolved to solidify and build the bases in all respects. With respect to the strength of our provincial party organizations, the most decisive thing is to build a foundation at the primary level. Only by strengthening the bases can we become close to and understand the people. Thus, the first thing that we must do is train and strengthen our core cadres at the bases, because no one is closer to the people or understands the people better than these cadres. This province has many tribesmen, and the tribesmen are dispersed over a very complex area. To win the hearts of the people and retain their confidence, we must win the hearts and retain the confidence of the more than 4,500 cadres at the bases. The profound lessons of the recent past have shown that ignoring the core cadres at the bases is tantamount to ignoring the people. If the party's cadres stay away from the people, magicians and wizards will immediately approach the people. There will be cases of people "welcoming the king" and people "proclaiming themselves king," and people will begin to engage in corrupt practices. Along with urgently training a rank of good quality and knowledgeable cadres who have a mass viewpoint (which I will discuss below), we must strive to implement a suitable mass policy with respect to each type of primary level cadre. Recently, with respect to four key positions (secretary, chairman, security chief, and village unit leader) in 33 border villages, we began paying salaries equal to those paid to echelon heads and deputy office chiefs at the district level. The people were very enthusiastic about this. In the coming period, we will expand this to the rest of the villages and subwards in the province.

Another very important and basic aspect is that attention must always be given to the people's livelihood, the intellectual standards of the people, and the people's rights. As mentioned above, the standard of living of the people in Ha Tuyen is very low. Here, I would like to briefly mention the intellectual standards of the people. In Ha Tuyen, 60 percent of the people are illiterate. Thus, mass mobilization work here is different from that in other places. To mobilize the people, we must discuss things with them, guide them in carrying out things, and work with them, and we must not engage in utopian activities. Using this method, the construction of a central school in Sung Tha Village in Yen Minh District has achieved notable results. Conversely, the work of growing betel and moving the town of Xin Man without listening to the views of the people failed and caused us much pain. Thus, we must discuss things and work with the people if we are to have good work methods. Talking about the intellectual standards of the people, schools (there are few schools in Ha Tuyen, and they are very dilapidated) are not the only issue. Other issues are means of information and other material conditions. Unfortunately, Ha Tuyen is very limited on this front.

But we can't give up just because of this. The schools are being reorganized. The hospitals are being located nearer the people. We will strive to carry on things to improve the people's standard of living and increase their rights.

Establishing population standards and population collectives in the mountains holds a very important position in mobilizing the people in particular and in formulating an economic and social development strategy in general. In Ha Tuyen, some ethnic minority groups still lead a nomadic life. A number of other tribes have settled down but still practice nomadic farming. Their lives are very difficult. That has a bad effect on the development of every aspect of the province, particularly in the highlands. Thus, we must soon stabilize the farming sites and residential areas for them. This is urgent. Since the beginning of 1987, we have been building work sites for the tribesmen. On the other hand, we have abolished the grain purchasing system. Everyone is enthusiastic and feels assured. Tribesmen have voluntarily brought surplus food to sell to the state, with the amounts increasing every year. Thus, it is clear that doing things in accord with the laws and in line with the views of the people will bring good results. We are continuing to perfect the system of water pipelines and reservoirs so that the people can live in contentment. Here, I want to say that when examining, revising, supplementing, and promulgating a policy, we must start from the people. We must strive to benefit the people as much as possible, but we must not be demagogic.

Finally, I want to talk about renovating the elements and operating forms of the mass organizations and training the cadres, particularly the tribal cadres in the mountains. In Ha Tuyen, the mass organizations must pay particular attention to getting the people from the bases (in and outside the mass organizations) to carry on activities based on specialized themes (the occupations, preferences, and needs of each zone and tribe). The "simple," rigid, and monotonous political life must be overcome. The cadres of the mass organization must be selected democratically. There must not be any pressure, and the situation in which people "live on credit" must be overcome. The full-time organizations of the mass organizations must be simplified. The regulations for dealing with lack of equality with respect to mass organization cadres must be revised.

Today, cadre training, particularly the training of minority group cadres in Ha Tuyen, depends on the limited budget funds of the locality. I don't think that the problem is "giving priority" or "paying attention" to this or that aspect when selecting people for training based on "bestowing favors." Rather, there must be training plans, particularly for tribesmen, and this must be regarded as a long-term plan of the state. On the other hand, I hope that the party and state will soon reexamine things and formulate suitable policies with respect to lowland cadres who come to work in the mountain areas. These policies must encourage them to settle down here and quickly eliminate the inequalities. Those who go to

mountain areas usually suffer much more than those who remain in the cities and in the lowlands.

As for us, we have opened cadre training classes near the bases, near the villages and population zones. We are paying all their education costs (not just 70 percent as stipulated). We are also experimenting with training tribesmen to become key cadres for bases during the time that they are on active military duty. This method has proven to be very effective with respect to the highlands.

I think that understanding the mountain areas and the tribesmen is the responsibility of all echelons and sectors from the central echelon to the bases. This is not the responsibility of a particular echelon or sector. Of course, this understanding must be based on real sympathy and not on administrative methods. Doing things this way will enable us to implement the ethnic minority policies of the party and contribute to improving the close relationship between the party and the people in Ha Tuyen.

[Pham Dinh Dang] Thank you, sir.

**Renovate the Relationship Between the Party and the Mass Organizations***902E0264B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN  
in Vietnamese No 5, May 90 pp 81-83*

[Article by Nguyen Khac Thanh, student at the Nguyen Ai Quoc School]

[Text] Constantly solidifying and expanding the close relationship with the masses is a vital problem for the communist party. The party could not have won power without the support of the masses, and it will not be able to survive with the credentials of the party in power if it loses the confidence of the masses. We have witnessed and continue to witness many incidents in a number of fraternal countries, places where socialism has passed through decades of construction and development. But along with this, the gulf between the party and the masses has grown wider. This is the root of the fierce explosions. Reality has shown that it is much easier for the party to maintain a close relationship with the people before it wins power than it is after taking power. Thus, after the problem of "winning power" is no longer the "leading problem," this must be replaced in the party's lines and policies by the "problem" of the relationship between the party and the masses. Developing the economy and carrying on social reform must aim at providing support for maintaining and developing this relationship. The grand alliance in the national democratic revolution following the banner of the party must become even stronger in the socialist revolution, because this revolution is much more difficult and complex.

In 60 years of carrying on activities, our party has always been worthy of its role as the vanguard unit of the working class and as the organization that has organized and led the people from one victory to another. Today, the party is the organization that has taken the initiative and that is leading the renovation of the country. The confidence of the laboring people in the party has been solidified and increased through the self-renovation of the party.

In the relationship between the party organizations and the mass organizations, for a long time now, the mass organizations have been operating in a passive and formal manner. The party committee echelons have sent people to take charge and interfere too much in the activities, which the mass organizations could have carried on themselves and done a good job. In a number of cases, the people from the party organizations were selected for a variety of reasons. They have not had the trust of the masses, and this has damaged the reputation and prestige of the party. On the other hand, the mass organizations have been organized based on a centralized model from the bottom up like the system of party organizations. And they have been allotted operating expenses freely. As a result, they have become cumbersome, bureaucratic, and ineffective organizations no

different from the various-echelon administrative organizations. The mass organizations are no longer attractive to the masses, and they do not fully represent the interests of the masses. In the towns, the youth union organizations have failed to assemble the youths, and many youths do not participate in union activities. In the rural areas, the situation is even worse. In many localities, the youth union members and members of the women's association no longer carry on activities. The social activities of the peasants are focused almost exclusively on funerals and festivals. At a number of enterprises and agencies, the activities of the mass organizations are often dull and not as attractive as the activities of associations established by a number of people. The above situation is due to the fact that most of the cadres were appointed by the party committee echelons. Recommendations for entry into the mass organizations have become "bureaucratized" to the point where they are rigid and no longer suited to the legitimate and essential needs of the mass movements.

In order to encourage the masses to participate actively in socialist construction, the party does not have to lead using organizational measures. Reality has shown that if the party's resolutions reach the masses quickly and create a strong movement filled with a revolutionary atmosphere, clear results will be achieved. The people have self-consciously implemented things, and they have struggled to implement the party's policies and resolutions if those policies and resolutions match their interests and desires.

Naturally, the party does not attract the masses only through its lines and resolutions. It also attracts them through the vanguard role of the party members, who participate in practical activities. It's the party members at the bases who are the ones who regularly implement things and persuade the masses to implement the lines and resolutions of the party. Such party members are much more valuable than leading cadres who know only how to make appeals.

Thus, renovating the relationship between the party and the mass organizations means renovating the relationship between the party organizations and the mass organizations. Exerting pressure with respect to organization must be replaced by allowing the masses to choose their leaders. In conditions in which there are many different mass organizations, the people at the head of the mass organizations do not have to be party members. The mass organizations should not be forced to accept party members who do not have the qualifications to lead the mass organizations.

The existing system of mass organizations should be reexamined. For every party committee echelon, it's not necessary to have a parallel bureau, trade union, women's association, and so on to arrange things from the bottom up with tens of thousands of people and hundreds of large and small headquarters. Studies must be conducted to transform the women's associations and

collective peasants' associations into independent organizations that are not based on an administrative system but on the specialized work unit and zone. The middle echelons, particularly in the districts, must be eliminated. Only the youth union and the trade unions should be maintained and solidified with their credentials as political organizations led directly by the party.

The masses must be motivated and guided in establishing volunteer associations based on sex, age, and occupation with the aim of strengthening the independent social activities of the people so that they can help each other build and organize life. These organizations must not be attacked, and there must not be any political biases against them. Today, there are many social activities of a profoundly humanitarian nature. Solidarity among the people has been manifested through volunteer associations established by the masses. These organizations have attracted people who used to be quite indifferent to social activities. They have returned to the collective in which they live, and they have been educated and motivated to fulfill their public obligations. The mass movements can lead to positive innovations. Correctly evaluating and supporting those innovations is one of the important tasks of the party with the aim of solidifying and developing the close relationship between the party and the masses.

Our party has a precious tradition of always maintaining the trust of the people in both war and peace. Building and defending our socialist fatherland is the task of all the people under the leadership of the party. The party has taken the initiative and led renovation. It has also given itself the task of renovating itself in order to have the strength to fulfill its mission. Today, more than ever before, the mass mobilization forms and measures must be renovated thoroughly, and the outdated methods that

were suited to the struggle to win independence and defend the young revolutionary regime must be discarded. The maturity and great experience of the party and the awareness and concept of ownership of the masses require that we gradually renovate mass work based on democratizing things. The management functions in each sphere of social life must be gradually changed for the mass organizations in order to exploit the strength of the masses.

On the path to socialism, the party and people are facing many difficulties and obstacles. These difficulties and obstacles can be overcome only if the party unites all the people under its banner. The history of the communist and international workers' movements has shown that we must be careful about the disease that Lenin called "communist arrogance." This can reduce the people's trust in the party and divide the revolutionary forces, which is something that the enemy can use.

Renovation has achieved initial results. The people want to solidify and exploit those results. In order to do this, the party must be stronger and more clear-sighted, and it must move closer to the people after every achievement of renovation. Only if an even greater effort is made will our party be able to fulfill the promises that it made to the people 60 years ago. The historical mission must be carried out even better, and this responsibility can be fulfilled only through the invincible strength of the relationship between the party and the masses.

#### **Thoughts on the Minority Problem in the Socialist Countries**

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 5, May 90 pp 84-88

[Article by Trinh Quoc Tuan; not translated]